

anyone, could truthfully say that I ever promised him or anybody else, either conditionally or otherwise, that I would be present in person at the Harper's Ferry insurrection. My field of labor for the abolition of slavery has not extended to an attack upon the United States Arsenal. In the teeth of the documents already published, and of those which may hereafter be published, I affirm that no man connected with that insurrection, from its noble and heroic leader down, can connect my name with a single broken promise of any sort whatever. So much I deem it proper to say negatively.

The time for a full statement of what I know, and of all I know, of this desperate but sublimely disinterested effort to emancipate the slaves of Maryland and Virginia from their cruel task-masters has not yet come, and may never come. In the denial which I have now made, my motive is more a respectful consideration for the opinions of the slaves' friends than from my fear of being made so accomplice in the general conspiracy against honesty, I am persuaded.

slavery. They are not ready to write, speak, publish, organize, combine, and even to conspire, against slavery, when there is a reasonable hope for success. Men who live by robbing their fellow-men of their labor and liberty have forfeited their right to know anything of the thoughts, feelings and purposes of those whom they rob and plunder. They have, by the single act of slaveholding, voluntarily placed themselves beyond the laws of justice and honor, and have become only fitted for companionship with

thieves and robbers—the common enemies of God and all manhood. While it shall be considered right to protect oneself against thieves, burglars, robbers and assassins, and to slay a wild beast in the act of devouring his human prey, it can never be wrong for the imbruted and whip-scarred slaves, or their friends, to hunt, harass and even strike down the traffickers in human flesh. If anybody is disposed to think less of me on account of this course, let him say so. I mean to do as I please.

what was about to occur, and did not assume the base and detestable character of an informer, he is a man whose good or bad opinion of me may be equally repugnant and despicable. Entertaining this sentiment, I may be asked, why I did not join John Brown—the noble old hero whose one right hand has shaken the foundation of the American Union, and whose ghost will haunt the bed-chambers of all the born and unborn slaveholders of

Virginia through all their generations, filling them with alarm and consternation! My answer to this has already been given, at least impliedly given. "The tools to those that can use them." Let every man work for the abolition of slavery in his own way. I would help all, and hinder none. My position in regard to the Harper's Ferry insurrection may be easily inferred from these remarks, and I shall be glad if those papers which have spoken of me in connection with it would find room for

I have no apology for keeping out of the way of those gentlemanly United States marshals who are said to have paid Rochester a somewhat protracted visit lately, with a view to an interview with me. A government recognizing the validity of the *Dred Scott* decision, at such a time as this, is not likely to have any very charitable feelings towards me; and if I am to meet its representatives, I

prior to do so at least upon equal terms. If I have committed any offence against society, I have done so on the soil of the State of New York, and I should be perfectly willing there to be arraigned before an impartial jury; but I have quite insuperable objections to being caught by the hands of Mr. Buchanan and "bagged" by Governor Wise. For this appears to be the arrangement. Buchanan does the fighting and hunting, and Wise "bags" the game.

Some reflections may be made upon my leaving on a tour to England, just at this time. I have only to say that my going to that country has been rather delayed than hastened by the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. All knew that I had intended to leave here in the first week of November.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER OF L. MARIA CHILD TO GOV. WISE.

WATLAND, MASS., Oct. 26, 1859.

GOV. WISE: I have heard that you were a man of chivalrous sentiments, and I know you were opposed to the iniquitous attempt to force upon Kansas a constitution abhorrent to the moral sense of her people. Relying upon these indications of honor and justice in your character, I venture to ask a favor of you. Enclosed is a letter

I and all my large circle of abolition acquaintances were taken by surprise when news came of Capt. Brown's recent attempt; nor do I know of a single person who would have approved of it had they been apprised of his intention. But I and thousands of others feel a natural impulse of sympathy for the brave and suffering man. Perhaps God, who sees the inmost of our souls, perceives

I have been for years an uncompromising abolitionist, and I should scorn to deny it or apologize for it as much as John Brown himself would do. Believing in peace principles, I still believe that the old veteran has a right to be a honor the bravest of warriors.

become his promoters. But because it is my habit to be as open as the daylight, I will also say that if I believed our religion justified men in fighting for freedom, I should consider the enslaved everywhere as best entitled to that right. Such an avowal is a simple, frank expression of my sense of natural justice.

But I should despise myself utterly if any circumstances could tempt me to seek to advance these opinions in any way, directly or indirectly, after your permission

to visit Virginia had been obtained on the plea of sisterly sympathy with a brave and suffering man. I give you my word of honor, which was never broken, that I would use such permission solely and singly for the purpose of nursing your prisoner, and for no other purpose whatsoever. Yours, respectfully, L. MARIA CHILD.

LETTER OF MRS. CHILD TO CAPT. BROWN.

WAYLAND, Mass., Oct. 26, 1859.

DEAR CAPTAIN BROWN: I THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF THE 20TH INST.

you, you will recognize in my name an earnest friend of Kansas, when circumstances made that Territory the battle-ground between the antagonistic principles of slavery and freedom, which politicians so vainly strive to reconcile in the government of the United States.

Believing in peace principles, I cannot sympathize with the method you chose to advance the cause of freedom. But I honor your generous intentions—I admire your courage, moral and physical. I reverence men for the

Thousands of hearts are throbbing with sympathy as warm as mine. I think of you night and day, bleeding in prison, surrounded by hostile faces, sustained only by trust in God and your own strong heart. I long to nurse you—to speak to you sisterly words of sympathy and consolation. I have asked permission of Gov. Wing to do so.

If the request is not granted, I cherish the hope that these few words may at least reach your hands, and afford you some little solace. May you be strengthened by the conviction that no honest man ever sheds blood for freedom in vain, however much he may be mistaken in his efforts. May God sustain you and carry you through whatsoever may be in store for you. Yours, with heartfelt respect, sympathy and affection,

L. MARIA CHILD.

GOVERNOR WISE'S REPLY.

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 29, 1859.

MADAM: Years of the 26th was received by me yesterday, and at my earliest leisure I respectfully reply to it, that I will forward the letter for John Brown, a prisoner under our laws, arraigned at the Circuit Court for the County of Jefferson, at Charlottesville, Va., for the crimes of murder, robbery and treason, which you ask me to transmit to him. I will comply with your request in the only way which seems to me proper, by enclosing it to the

Commonwealth attorney, with the request that he will ask the permission of the Court to hand it to the prisoner. Brown, the prisoner, is now in the hands of the judiciary — not of the Executive of this Commonwealth.

You ask me, further, to allow you to perform the mission "of mother or sister, to dress his wounds and speak soothingly to him." By this, of course, you mean to be allowed to visit him in his cell and to minister to him in the offices of humanity. Why should you not be so

involved, Madam: Virginia and Massachusetts are
followed in no civil war, and the Constitution which
unites them in one confederacy guarantees to you priv-
ileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States in
the State of Virginia. That Constitution I am sworn to
support, and am, therefore, bound to protect your priv-
ileges and immunities as a citizen of Massachusetts coming
into Virginia for any lawful and peaceful purpose.
Coming, as you propose, to minister to the captive in
this State, you are entitled to the same protection.

insou, you will meet, fondness, by an our people not only in a chivalrous but in a Christian spirit. You have the right to visit Charlottesville, Va., Madam; and your mission, being merciful and humane, will not only be allowed, but be respected, if not welcomed. A few unenlightened and incoercible persons, satirical in their modes of thought and action to maintain justice and right, might molest you, or be disposed to do so, and this might suggest the imprudence of risking any experiment upon the peace of a people. I am, Madam, as the critics

with whose chief author you seem to sympathize so much; but still, I repeat, your motives and avowed purpose are lawful and peaceful, and I will, as far as I am concerned, do my duty to protecting your rights to our limits. Virginia and her authorities would be weak indeed, weak in point of folly and weak in point of power, if her State faith and constitutional obligations cannot be redeemed in her own limits to the letter of morality as well as of law; and if her civility cannot comprehend the nature

My visit to a prisoner, every arm which guards Brown from rescue on the one hand, and from Lycaon's law on the other, will be ready to guard your person in Virginia. I could not permit an insult even to woman in her weak of charity among us, though it be to one who wretched knives and butchery for our mothers, sisters, daughters and babes. We have no sympathy with your sentiments of sympathy with Brown, and are surprised that you were taken by surprise when news came of Capt. Brown's recent attempt." "that

The attempt was a natural consequence of your sympathy, and the errors of that sympathy ought to make you doubt its virtue from the effect upon his conduct. But it is not this I should speak. When you arrive at Charlestown, if you go there, it will be for the Court and its officers, the Commonwealth's attorney, sheriff and jailor, to see whether you may see and wait on the prisoner. But,

*THE LESSON OF THE HOUR**

BY WENDELL PHILLIPS

that verily Athens invented art and some depths of philosophy; God lent to it the torch of life and it flashes to-day the torch that glows in the peaks of the old world; while Egypt, the servative of antiquity, where nobody durst be a priest, or to be wiser than his grandfather pretended to be alive, though swaddled in robes of creed and custom as close as their shroud—is hid in the tomb it inhabited; and the Athenians have been the torch for us day to day though what bunkumism it did and (cheerless) of a American civilization, that it (cheerless) repetition of that same aniline confidence in science and the public thought that the work of Grecian Democracy.

Now, we have been talking for twenty years about various evidences of growth and education of you. The first evidence that a sign of sin and too blind or too lazy to reform is that he can give that his nature has been so he becomes a hypocrite; he has the great

the Mexican. Taylor and Graham, the Pierce
their statement's authors. The South
violence in Kansas, and taught
the nation that the Union was
planted 999 seeds, and this is the first
seed; this is the first drop of the com-
ing storm. The seeds of the storm
which is this raceable to some teach-
much honor to such men as G. F.
failures. The seeds of the storm
share in the great reeling during
hisself against an empire in rebellion.
They were not the bravest men of
the nation, but they were the best
rather those who flung themselves, in-
ferrible against the embattled ranks of
the Union. They were the men who
red velvet smoothed their ruffles and
Full-cut cotton-house man said, "A
man of the Union, a man of the Union,
strips, debauch terms to the flesh."
only the echo of the Lexington gun.
The seeds of the storm are the seeds
life has been a pampered success,
coarse, drift, knowledge of his time,
opponents, undaunted during the
the nation. The seeds of the storm
Kansas and go into Missouri and to
give them to liberty, and bring them
the nation. The seeds of the storm
tribute from their masters in order
Then, when he has passed his human
the nation. The seeds of the storm
English lion, this is the brave, frank
in God's right and absolute justice, the
the city and two horses for sale, the
the auctioneer's stand, nothing but a
the time (laughter). But this is the
the nation, the nation's "property."
price" (laughter). This is the man
the nation, exclaiming his right, and
strength he has in the nation's "prop-
erty." He is the man who is the
he failed. Every man has his moment

As people like him and how
 Suppose John Brown
 The excited imagination
 who had enlarged his
 the "white man's
 troops armed with
 nobody." The most
 "white man's
 country; you never
 all Pennsylvania was
 a sign has not kept
 the "white man's
 now (laughter). For
 the penetration of a
 the "white man's
 never was a race held
 its own liberty but
 the "white man's
 Blue-eyed, light-haired
 We were serifs for
 were called "white
 which craved out of
 hadn't vigor enough
 the "white man's
 Southern races of Bur
 southeast, that they p
 black—the only race i
 after a century of op
 blood of the dominant
 dered San Domingo i
 a race, with instruat
 and with their own
 all. Well, garrulous
 the black race.

The slave, of our co
 other class, polemical
 It is the universal
 tion of the same race

had not yet at Harper's
place on Monday night
of two thousand Charleston
and his little band into 400 white
men, and the latter
2,000 strong
would have b
been convinced
have convinced
armed and on the hills. Victo
Nathaniel Turner had a mar
the day after the 16th of May
is not an insurance that
the next element. Mark you, it
the day after the 16th of May
remains that absolutely y
There never was a serf or a
of the South, and the
to go to St. Louis, it was not our
country, and we waited till
went down into a village
narrowed so thoroughly that we
when necessary. The
the North. The
that have brought spot from
their way into their slavery. Dis
the record of history that ever
of the South, retained the right to write
the record of history that ever
Dispel, calumniated, mal
instance in history where
love of justice, seeing a hun
leader their own law
on their own, boasting St. Louis
till today we tell of the covarice
of the South.
have not risen, but, as in all
come from the interference
of the South, and our
of history, and ours is a rep
the drama. We have awakene
the South, and our
God and

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